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[*Concluded from our laſt.*]

A LETTER OF HIS EXCELLENCY EDMUND RANDOLPH, ESQUIRE ON THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

RICHMOND, OCTOBER 10, 1787.

SIR,

BUT now, ſir, permit me to declare, that in my humble judgment the powers by which alone the bleſſings of a general government can be accompliſhed, cannot be interwoven in the confederation without a change of its very eſſence; or in other words, that the confederation muſt be thrown aſide. This is almoſt demonſtrable from the inefficacy of requiſitions and from the neceſſity of converting them into acts of authority My ſuffrage, as a citizen, is alſo for additional powers But to whom ſhall we commit theſe acts of authority, theſe additional powers? To Congreſs?—When I formerly lamented the defects in the juriſdiction of Congreſs, I had no view to indicate any other opinion, than that the Fœderal head ought not to be ſo circumſcribed. For free as I am at all times to profeſs my reverence for that body, and the individuals, who compoſe it, I am yet equally free to make known my averſion to repoſe ſuch a truſt in a tribunal ſo conſtituted. My objections are not the viſions of theory, but the reſult of my own obſervation in America, and of the experience of others abroad. 1ſt. The Legiſlative and Executive are concented in the ſame perſons. This, where real power exiſts, muſt eventuate in tyranny. II The repreſentation of the ſtates bears no proportion to their importance. This is one unreaſonable ſubjection of the will of the majority to that of the minority. III. The mode of election and the liability to be recalled may too often render the Delegates rather Partizans of their own ſtates, than repreſentatives of the union. IV. Cabal and intrigue muſt conſequently gain an aſcendancy in a courſe of years. V. A ſingle houſe of legiſlation will ſome times be precipitate, perhaps paſſionate. VI. As long as ſeven ſtates are required for the ſmalleſt, and nine for the greateſt votes, may not foreign influence at ſome future day inſinuate itſelf, ſo as to interrupt every active exertion? VII. To crown the whole, it is ſcarcely within the verge of poſſibility, that ſo numerous an aſſembly ſhould acquire that ſecrecy, diſpatch, and vigour, which are the teſt or excellence in the executive department.

My inference from theſe facts and principles is, that the new powers muſt be depoſited in a new body, growing out of a conſolidation of the union, as far as the circumſtances of the ſtates will allow. Perhaps, however, ſome may meditate its diſſolution, and others partial confederacies.

The firſt is an idea awful indeed and irreconcileable with a very early, and hitherto uniform conviction, that without union we muſt be undone. For before the voice of war was heard, the pulſe of the then colonies was tried and found to beat in uniſon. The unremitted labour of our enemies was to divide, and the policy of every Congreſs to bind us together. But in no example was this truth more clearly diſplayed, than in the prudence, with which independence was unfolded to the ſight, and in the forbearance to declare it, until America almoſt unanimouſly called for it. After we had thus launched into troubles, never before explored, and in the hour of heavy diſtreſs, the remembrance of our ſocial ſtrength not only forbade diſpair, but drew from Congreſs the moſt illuſtrious repetition of their ſettled purpoſe to deſpiſe all terms, ſhort of independence.

Behold then, how ſucceſsful and glorious we have been, while we acted in fraternal concord. But let us diſcard the illuſion, that by this ſucceſs and this glory the creſt of danger has irrecoverably fallen. Our governments are yet too youthful to have acquired ſtability from habit. Our very quiet depends upon the duration of the union. Among the upright and intelligent, few can read without emotion the future fate of the ſtates, if ſevered from each other. Then ſhall we learn the full weight of foreign intrigue—Then ſhall we hear of partitions of our country. If a Prince, inflamed by the luſt of conqueſt, ſhould uſe one ſtate, as the inſtrument of enſlaving others—if every ſtate is to be wearied by perpetual alarms, and compelled to maintain large military eſtabliſhments—if all queſtions are to be decided by an appeal to arms, where a difference of opinion cannot be removed by negociation—in a word, if all the direful misfortunes, which haunt the peace of the rival nations, are to triumph over land—for what have we contended? Why have we exhauſted our wealth? Why have we baſely betrayed the heroic martyrs of the Fœderal cauſe?

But dreadful as the total diſſolution of the union is to my mind, I entertain no leſs horror at the thought of partial confederacies. I have not the leaſt ground for ſuppoſing, that an overture of this kind would be liſtened to by a ſingle ſtate; and the preſumption is, that the politics of the greater part of the ſtates flow from the warmeſt attachment to an union of the whole. If however a leſſer confederacy could be obtained, by Virginia, let me conjure my countrymen well to weigh the probable conſequences, before they attempt to form it.

On ſuch an event, the ſtrength of the union would be divided into two or perhaps three parts. Has it ſo increaſed ſince the war as to be diviſible?—And yet remain ſufficient for our happineſs?

The utmoſt limit of any partial confederacy, which Virginia could expect to form, would comprehend only the three ſouthern ſtates, and her neareſt northern neighbour. But they, like ourſelves, are diminiſhed in their real force, by the mixture of an unhappy ſpecies of population.

Again may I aſk, whether the opulence of the United States has been augmented ſince the war? This is anſwered in the negative by a load of debt, and the declenſion of trade.

At all times muſt a ſouthern confederacy ſupport ſhips of war, and ſoldiery. As ſoon would a navy move from the foreſt, and an army ſpring from the earth, as ſuch a confederacy, indebted, impoveriſhed in its commerce, and deſtitute of men, could, for ſome years at leaſt provide an ample defence for itſelf.

Let it not be forgotten, that nations, which can inforce their rights, have large claims againſt the United States, and that the creditor may inſiſt on payment from any one of them. Which of them would probably be the victim? The moſt productive and the moſt expoſed. When vexed by repriſals or war, the ſouthern ſtates will ſue for alliances on this continent or beyond ſea If for the former, the neceſſity of an union of the whole is decided. If for the latter, America will, I fear, react the ſcenes of confuſion and bloodſhed, exhibited among moſt of thoſe nations, which have, too late, repented the folly of relying on auxiliaries.

Two or more confederices cannot but be competitors for power. The ancient friendſhip between the citizens of America, being thus cut off, bitterneſs and hoſtility will ſucceed in its place. In order to prepare againſt ſurrounding danger, we ſhall be compelled to veſt ſomewhere or other power approaching near to a military government.

The annals of the world have abounded ſo much with inſtances of a divided people, being a prey to foreign influence, that I ſhall not reſtrain my apprehenſions of it, ſhould our union be torn aſunder. The opportunity of inſinuating it will be multiplied in proportion to the parts, into which we may be broken.

In ſhort, ſir, I am fatigued with ſummoning up to my imagination the miſeries, which will harraſs the United States, if torn from each other, and which will not end, until they are ſuperſeded by freſh miſchiefs, under the yoke of a tyrant.

I come therefore to the laſt and perhaps only refuge in our difficulties, a conſolidation of the union, as far as circumſtances will permit. To fulfil this deſirable object, the Conſtitution was framed by the Fœderal Covention. A quorum of eleven ſtates, and the only member from a twelfth have ſubſcribed it: Mr. MASON of Virginia. Mr. GERRY of Maſſachuſetts, and myſelf, having refuſed to ſubſcribe.

Why I refuſed, would, I hope, be ſolved to the ſatisfaction of thoſe, who know me, by ſaying that a ſenſe of duty commanded me thus to act. It commanded me, ſir; for believe me, that no event of my life ever occupied more of my reflection. To ſubſcribe ſeemed to offer no inconſiderable gratification; ſince it would have preſented me to the world, as a fellow-labourer with the learned and zealous ſtateſmen of America. But it was far more intereſting to my feelings, that I was about to differ from three of my colleagues; one of whom is, to the honour of the country, which he has ſaved, imboſomed in their affections, and can receive no praiſe from the higheſt luſtre of language; the other two of whom have been long inrolled among the wiſeſt and beſt lovers of the Commonwealth; and the unſhaken and intimate friendſhip of all of whom I have ever prized, and ſtill do prize, as among the happieſt of all my acquiſitions. I was no ſtranger to the reigning partiality for the members, who compoſed the Convention; and had not the ſmalleſt doubt, that from this cauſe, and from the ardour for a reform of government, the firſt applauſes at leaſt would be loud, and profuſe, I ſuſpected too, that there was ſomething in the human breaſt, which for a time would be apt to conſtrue a temperateneſs in politics into an enmity to the union. Nay I plainly foreſaw, that in the diſſentions of parties, a middle line would probably be interpreted into a want of enterpriſe and deciſion. But theſe conſiderations, how ſeducing ſoever, were feeble opponents to the ſuggeſtions of my conſcience. I was ſent to exerciſe my judgment, and to exerciſe it was my fixed determination; being inſtructed by even an imperfect acquaintance with mankind, that ſelf-approbation is the only true reward, which a political career can beſtow, and that popularity would have been but another name for perfidy. If to ſecure it, I had given up the freedom of thinking for myſelf.

It would have been a peculiar pleaſure to me, to have aſcertained, before I left Virginia, the temper and genius of my fellow-citizens, conſidered relatively to a government ſo ſubſtantially differing from the confederation, as that which is now ſubmitted. But this was for many obvious reaſons impoſſible: And I was thereby deprived of what I thought the neceſſary guides.

I ſaw however that the confederation was tottering from its own weakneſs, and that the ſitting of the Convention was a ſignal of its total inſufficiency. I was therefore ready to aſſent to a ſcheme of government, which was propoſed, and which went beyond the limits of the confederation, believing, that without being too extenſive it would have preſerved our tranquility, until that temper and that genius ſhould be collected.

But when the plan which is now before the General Aſſembly, was on its paſſage through the Convention, I moved, that the State Conventions ſhould be at liberty to amend, and that a ſecond general Convention ſhould be holden to diſcuſs the amendments, which ſhould be ſuggeſted by them. This motion was in ſome meaſure juſtified by the manner, in which the confederation was forwarded originally, by Congreſs to the ſtate Legiſlatures, in many of which amendments were propoſed, and thoſe amendments were afterwards examined in Congreſs. Such a motion was doubly expedient here, as the delegation of ſo much more power was ſought for. But it was negatived. I then expreſſed my unwillingneſs to ſign. My reaſons were the following.

I. It is ſaid in the reſolutions, which accompany the Conſtitution, that it is to be ſubmitted to a Convention of Delegates, choſen in each ſtate by the people thereof, for their aſſent and ratification. The meaning of theſe terms is allowed univerſally to be, that the Convention muſt either adopt the Conſtitution in the whole, or reject it in the whole, and is poſitively forbidden to amend. If therefore I had ſigned, I ſhould have felt myſelf bound to be ſilent as to amendments, and to endeavour to ſupport the Conſtitution without the correction of a letter. With this conſequence before my eyes, and with a determination to attempt an amendment, I was taught by a regard for conſiſtency not to ſign.

II. My opinion always was, and ſtill is, that every citizen of America, let the criſis be what it may, ought to have a full opportunity to propoſe through his repreſentatives any amendment, which in his apprehenſion tends to the public welfare.—By ſigning I ſhould have contradicted this ſentiment.

III. A Conſtitution ought to have the hearts of the people on its ſide. But if at a future day it ſhould be burthenſome, after having been adopted in the whole, and they ſhould inſinuate, that it was in ſome meaſure forced upon them, by being confined to the ſingle alternative of taking or rejecting it altogether, under my impreſſions and with my opinions, I ſhould not be able to juſtify myſelf had I ſigned.

IV. I was always ſatisfied, as I have now experienced, that this great ſubject, would be placed in new lights and attitudes by the criticiſm of the world, and that no man can aſſure himſelf, how a Conſtitution will work for a courſe of years, until at leaſt he ſhall have heard the obſervations of the people at large. I alſo fear more from inaccuracies in a Conſtitution, than from groſs errors in any other compoſition; becauſe our deareſt intereſts are to be regulated by it, and power, if looſely given, eſpecially where it will be interpreted with great latitude, may bring ſorrow in its execution. Had I ſigned with theſe ideas, I ſhould have virtually ſhut my ears againſt the information, which I ardently deſired.

V. I was afraid, that if the Conſtitution was to be ſubmitted to the people, to be wholly adopted or wholly rejected by them, they would not only reject it, but bid a laſting farewell to the union. This formidable event I wiſhed to avert, by keeping myſelf free to propoſe amendments, and thus, if poſſible, to remove the obſtacles to an effectual government. But it will be aſked, whether all theſe arguments were not well weighed in Convention. They were, Sir, and with great candour. Nay, when I called to mind the reſpectability of thoſe, with whom I was aſſociated, I almoſt loſt confidence in theſe principles. On other occaſions I ſhould cheerfully have yielded to a majority; on this the fate of thouſands, yet unborn, enjoined me not to yield, until I was convinced—

Again may I be aſked why the mode pointed out in the conſtitution for its amendment, may not be a ſufficient ſecurity againſt its imperfections, without now arreſting it in its progreſs? My anſwers are, 1. that it is better to amend, while we have the conſtitution in our power, while the paſſions of deſigning men are yet chilled, and while a bare majority of the ſtates may amend, than to wait for the uncertain aſſent of three-fourths of the ſtates. 2. That a bad feature in government becomes more and more fixed every day. 3. That frequent changes of a conſtitution even if practicable ought not to be wiſhed, but avoided as much as poſſible: and 4. That in the preſent caſe it may be queſtionable, whether, after the particular advantages of its operation ſhall be diſcerned, three-fourths of the ſtates can be induced to amend.

I confeſs, that it is no eaſy taſk, to deviſe a ſcheme which ſhall be ſuitable to the views of all. Many expedients have occurred to me, but none of them appear leſs exceptionable than this: That if our Convention ſhould chooſe to amend, another Fœderal Convention be recommended: That in that Fœderal Convention the amendments propoſed by this or any other ſtate, be diſcuſſed; and if incorporated in the Conſtitution or rejected, or if a proper number of the other ſtates ſhould be unwilling to accede to a ſecond Convention, the Conſtitution be again laid before the ſame State Conventions, which ſhall again aſſemble on the ſummons of the Executives, and it ſhall be either wholly adopted, or wholly rejected, without a further power of amendment. I count ſuch a delay, as nothing in compariſon with ſo grand an object; eſpecially too as the privilege of amending muſt terminate after the uſe of it once.

I ſhould now conclude this letter, which is already too long, were it not incumbent on me from having contended for amendments, to ſet forth the particulars, which I conceive to require correction. I undertake this with reluctance; becauſe, it is remote from my intentions to catch the prejudices or prepoſſeſſions of any man. But as I mean only to manifeſt, that I have not been actuated by caprice, and now to explain every objection at full length would be an immenſe labour, I ſhall content myſelf with enumerating certain heads, in which the Conſtitution is moſt repugnant to my wiſhes.

The two firſt points are the equality of ſuffrage in the Senate, and the ſubmiſſion of commerce to a mere majority in the legiſlature, with no other check than the reviſion of the Preſident. I conjecture that neither of theſe things can be corrected; and particularly the former; without which we muſt have riſen perhaps in diſorder.

But I am ſanguine in hoping, that in every other, juſtly obnoxious clauſe, Virginia will be ſeconded by a majority of the ſtates. I hope that ſhe will be ſeconded, I. In cauſing all ambiguities of expreſſion to be preciſely explained: II. In rendering the Preſident ineligible after a given number of years: III. In taking from him either the power of nominating to the judiciary offices, or of filling up vacancies which therein may happen during the receſs of the Senate, by granting commiſſions which ſhall expire at the end of their next ſeſſion: IV. In taking from him the power of pardoning for treaſon, at leaſt before conviction; V. In drawing a line between the powers of Congreſs and individual ſtates; and in defining the former; ſo as to leave no claſhing of juriſdictions nor dangerous diſputes; and to prevent the one from being ſwallowed up by the other, under the cover of general words, and implication: VI. In abriding the power of the Senate to make treaties the ſupreme laws of the land: VII. In providing a tribunal inſtead of the Senate for the impeachment of Senators: VIII. In incapacitating the Congreſs to determine their own ſalaries; and IX. In limiting and defining the judicial power.

The proper remedy muſt be conſigned to the wiſdom of the Convention; and the final ſtep, which Virginia ſhall purſue if her overtures ſhall be diſcarded, muſt alſo reſt with them.

But as I affect neither myſtery nor ſubtilty, in politics, I heſitate not to ſay, that the moſt fervent prayer of my ſoul is the eſtabliſhment of a firm, energetic government; that the moſt inveterate curſe, which can befal us, is a diſſolution of the union; and that the preſent moment, if ſuffered to paſs away unemployed, can never be recalled. Theſe were my opinions, while I acted as a Delegate; they ſway me, while I ſpeak as a private citizen. I ſhall therefore cling to the union, as the rock of our ſalvation, and urge Virginia to finiſh the ſalutary work, ſhe has begun. And if after our beſt efforts for amendments, they cannot be obtained, I ſcruple not to declare (notwithſtanding the advantage, which ſuch a declaration may give to the enemies of my propoſal) that I will, as an individual citizen, accept the Conſtitution; becauſe I would regulate myſelf by the ſpirit of America.

You will excuſe me, Sir, for having been thus tedious. My feelings and duty demanded this expoſition; for through no other channel could I reſcue my omiſſion to ſign from miſrepreſentation, and in no more effectual way could I exhibit to the General Aſſembly an unreſerved hiſtory of my conduct.

I have the honour, Sir, to be, with great reſpect, your moſt obedient ſervant.

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

The Hon. the Speaker of the House of Delegates.

RICHMOND.

A Liſt of Laws paſſed October Seſſion 1787.

ON Tueſday evening laſt the Honourable General Aſſembly of this ſtate adjourned till the laſt day of March enſuing, after having paſſed in all 93 acts, the titles of which are as follows:

An act to eſtabliſh a town in each of the counties of Mercer and Nelſon.

For eſtabliſhing a town on the land of Levin Powell, in the county of Loudoun.

To encreaſe the allowance for pilotage between Urbanna and Tappahannock.

To amend the act for eſtabliſhing certain inſpections of tobacco.

For adding part of the county of Brunſwick to the county of Greenſville.

To eſtabliſh a town on the lands of Cuthbert Bullitt in the county of Prince William.

To enlarge the town of Staunton in the county of Auguſta.

Granting to John Fitch the excluſive privilege of conſtructing and navigating boats impelled by fire or ſteam.

To empower the Truſtees of the Frederickſburg Academy to raiſe a ſum of money by way of lottery.

To authorize the Court of Accomack county to levy a ſum of money for the uſe of Charles Bagwell, and the executors of Alexander Stockley.

Appointing Truſtees for the town of Leeſburg in the county of Loudoun.

To eſtabliſh a town on the lands of Ignatius Mitchell in the county of Bourbon.

For altering the Court day of the county of Halifax.

To amend the act appointing Commiſſioners to liquidate and ſettle the expences incurred in two expeditions carried on againſt the neighbouring Indians from the Kentucky Diſtrict and for other purpoſes

To regulate the inſpection of flour and bread.

To exempt certain perſons from the payment of county levies, and poor rates.

To eſtabliſh a town on the lands of David Gerrard in the county of Berkley.

To amend the act intituled "An act for eſtabliſhing a town on the lands of James Wilkinſon in Fayette county, and a ferry acroſs Kentucky river.

To eſtabliſh a town at the Courthouſe in the county of Ohio

To explain and amend the act for eſtabliſhing the town of Boonſborough in the county of Kentucky.

To amend the act appointing Truſtees to ſell part of the lands of John Todd, dec. for the payment of his debts, and for other purpoſes.

Concerning certain duties on tobacco.

For cutting a navigable canal from the waters of Eliza beth river in this ſtate, to the waters of Paſquotank in the ſtate of North Carolina.

Declaring tobacco receivable in payment of certain taxes for the year 1787

Giving a more ſpeedy remedy againſt delinquent ſubſcribers to the Potowmack and James river companies.

Altering the Court day of the county of Charles City

For adding part of the county of Hardy to the county of Hampſhire.

To empower the County Courts in the Diſtrict of Kentucky to eſtabliſh ferries within the ſame.

To amend the act for appointing Truſtees to regulate the making ſlopes for the paſſage of fiſh in the mill-dams within the county of Bedford

Giving John Hoomes the excluſive privilege of conveying perſons in ſtage carriages between certain places for a limited time.

For forming a new county out of the counties of Auguſta, Hardy, and Rockingham

To amend an act for eſtabliſhing a Diſtrict Court on the Weſtern Waters.

To eſtabliſh a town in the county of Mercer.

Giving certain powers to the Truſtees of the town of Dumfries.

To eſtabliſh a town in the county of Hampſhire.

To empower the Veſtry of the pariſh of Saint James Northam in the county of Goochland to ſell the Glebe of the ſaid pariſh, and lay out the money in purchaſing a more convenient Glebe.

To amend the charter of the Borough of Norfolk.

For opening and extending the navigation of Willis's river.

To eſtabliſh a town in the county of Bourbon.

For eſtabliſhing a town in the county of Hampſhire.

To confirm the freedom of certain negroes late the property of Charles Moorman, deceaſed.

Concerning the Convention to be held in June next.

To repeal ſo much of all and every act, or acts of Aſſembly as prohibits the recovery of Britiſh debts.

To amend the act intituled "An act for incorporating the town of Peterſburg, and for other purpoſes."

To authorize the Courts of the ſeveral counties and corporations within this Commonwealth to appoint inſpectors of lumber

Concerning the emancipation of certain ſlaves belonging to the eſtate of Joſeph Mayo, late of Henrico county.

Appropriating one ſixth of the Surveyors fees in the Kentucky Diſtrict to the uſe of the Tranſylvania Seminary.

Concerning the perſonal eſtate of Nicholas Gentry, deceaſed,

Providing a ſinking fund for the gradual redemption of the public debt

To ſupply the defect of evidence of the Royal Aſſent to certain acts of Aſſembly under the former government.

For opening and extending the navigation of Appomattox river.

Authorizing the directors of the Public Buildings in the city of Richmond to convey to Philip Turpin certain lands.

For the relief of perſons who have been injured by the deſtruction of the records of county courts.

For eſtabliſhing a new boundary line between the counties of Henrico and Hanover.

Giving Richard Towns and John Woodſolk the excluſive right of conveying perſons in ſtage carriages between certain diſtances for a limited time.

For the preſervation of the entries made for lands in the Diſtrict of Kentucky.

To veſt the right of this Commonwealth to a lot of land in the town of Staunton in Thomas Poage, and his heirs.

For eſtabliſhing a Marine Hoſpital for the reception of aged and diſabled ſeamen.

To encourage the ſpeedy payment of arrearages of taxes into the Public Treaſury.

For further continuing an act intituled "An act to revive and amend in part an act for giving further time to enter certificates for ſettlement rights, and for locating warrants on pre-emption rights, and for other purpoſes.

To amend two acts of Aſſembly, the one intituled "An act for keeping certain roads in repair," the other intituled "An act for opening and ſtraightening certain public roads."

For eſtabliſhing ſeveral new ferries.

To explain and amend the act for opening and extending the navigation of Willis's river.

For eſtabliſhing ſeveral new inſpections of tobacco, and reviving and continuing others.

To explain and amend the acts for preventing fraudulent gifs of ſlaves.

To repeal part of an act for the protection and encouragement of the commerce of nations acknowledging the Independence of the United States of America

To amend the acts concerning the poor.

For eſtabliſhing an Accademy, and incorporating the Truſtees thereof.

Preſcribing the method of proving certain wills.

To amend the act intituled "An act for eſtabliſhing a High Court of Chancery."

Directing patents to iſſue upon certain ſurveys made by Richard Rigg, deceaſed.

Directing the ſale of certain public lands.

Providing for the regular payment of the expences accruing from the trial of criminals in the county and corporation Courts.

Appointing commiſſioners to receive ſuch proof as may be adduced by certain perſons with reſpect to the deſtruction of the property in the Borough of Norfolk.

Concerning monies paid into the Public Loan Office in payment of Britiſh debts.

To amend and revive the act for further continuing the act for the better regulating and collecting certain officers fees, and for other purpoſes.

Eſtabliſhing Diſtrict Courts.

Directing the mode of proceeding under certain executions.

Concerning the redemption of paper money funded agreeable to recommendation of Congreſs.

To amend the act intitled an act to amend the act to reſtrict foreign veſſels to certain ports within this Commonwealth.

To amend the act intitled an act for reforming the county courts and for other purpoſes.

To repeal the act intitled an act for eſtabliſhing courts of aſſize and for other purpoſes therein mentioned.

To authorize the eſtabliſhment of fire companies.

To repeal ſo much of every act of Aſſembly as authorizes the Auditor of public accounts to iſſue certificates for the militia ſervice performed during the late war.

To remedy abuſes in the manner of ſelling lands for the payment of publick taxes.

For the more ſpeedy and effectual recovery of debts due to the Commonwealth.

To amend the ſeveral acts of Aſſembly concerning naval officers and the collection of the duties.

To amend the act concerning the militia

For the puniſhment of perſons guilty of ſtealing or ſelling free perſons as ſlaves.

Reſpecting the appointment of county court clerks, and the recommendation of ſurveyors and for other purpoſes.

Preſcribing the oaths of office to Judges of the diſtrict courts.

To amend the act intitled an act to amend the act to impoſe certain duties.

LONDON, Oct. 1.

NEW ACCADEMY, for the education of Young Men of Fortune and Family.

AS gaming is now become the neceſſary purſuit of the faſhionable youth, it is propoſed to inſtitute an Accademy for the inſtruction of them in this polite art.

It is propoſed that this Accademy conſiſt of a certain number of profeſſors who ſhall each have his ſeparate ſcience.

The common art of playing cards, and the myſtery of Pharo, &c. under the head—Natural Philoſophy.

The ways of cogging dice, palming aces, &c. as practiſed by ſome of the firſt artiſts, under the head of Experimental Philoſophy.

The game E O, under the head—Belles Lettres.

The language of each game, curſing, ſwearing, and every ſpecies of "Dicer's oaths"—under the head of Logic.

The manner of treating young heirs, novices, to be taught by the Botanical Profeſſor, who lectures on Culling Simples.

For the benefit of gentlemen from the Eaſt who find it neceſſary to part with a few thouſands, rather than part with all, there will alſo be appointed—a Profeſſor of Oriental Language—and a Hebrew Profeſſor for thoſe who, having finiſhed their ſtudies, have occaſion to do buſineſs with the Jews.

The ſtudents to be provided with pigeons, and thoſe who have attained conſiderable proficiency to be permitted to accompany their Maſters to St. James's ſtreet on great practiſing nights.

That the hours of the Accademy may not interfere with other buſineſs, none of the claſſics will begin teaching before two o'clock in the morning, and to continue till ten or twelve.

For further particulars enquire of Meſſrs. Whiſt, Pharo, & Co. St. James's ſtreet.

NEW-YORK, Dec. 18.

NOTWITHSTANDING the inflated Britiſh accounts of the Prince of Orange's triumphs in Holland, and the ſuggeſtions of the Engliſh politicans, that Amſterdam cannot long hold out againſt the Pruſſian army, we venture a conjecture, that the contrary of this will be the caſe. Louis XIV. with an army of 80,000 men, found it impracticable to reduce it; and it is ſuppoſed capable of withſtanding an army of 100,000 men. Without having Amſterdam, the Prince of Orange will have but little to boaſt of, as that city pre-

confederates in the ſcale againſt a very great part of the Netherlands. Therefore ſhould the brave Amſterdamers, aſſiſted as we hope they will be, by the troops of France, oblige the Pruſſians to retire —The ſituation of the patriots will not be ſo deplorable—they may yet have real cauſe for exultation, great as that of the Prince and his party, founded on ideal triumphs.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 26.

Extract of a letter from the Hague, dated Sept. 21.

ON Tueſday the whole garriſon, and Schuttery, or militia, came under arms, and the whole day was in diſarming the Vry corps: And in the evening the common people plundered full fifty houſes, many of which were totally pulled down.

"The Princeſs Royal, and the young princes and princeſs, are expected to morrow. A general illumination is to take place on Monday evening. This day has been ſpent in ſearching the houſes of the different patriots. A great many infamous papers and paintings have been found, as alſo murdering and unlawful implements (Moordigeweer) and three hundred (Tzere Stoppen) iron collars, and many more ſuch things; they were all carried in triumph to the Society's houſe in the Hoſtraat. The Lieutenants of the Schuttery, (or militia) who are of the French party, will be all caſhiered. The report goes, that the Rhingrave of Salm is impriſoned at Amſterdam."

RICHMOND, Jan. 10.

ON Friday the General Aſſembly appointed the following gentlemen additional Judges of the General Court, &c. viz. Joſeph Prentis, Saint George Tucker, Gabriel Jones, and Richard Parker, Eſquires.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in London to his friend in Hertford, dated Sept. 26.

"I have heard nothing of your doings in America—Will your Convention be able to invigorate your Government? Or will my predictions be true? Alas! I fear ſo. All Europe have an opinion you are ſinking into anarchy and ruin; but when I reflect on the aſtoniſhing exertions during the war, to which you were rouſed by your extreme danger, I have ſome hopes—Think on Poland."

We are informed by a gentleman who arrived lately from the Weſt-Indies, that the Fœderal Conſtitution has been conſidered in the iſlands as a maſter piece of human wiſdom. Many planters have declared that as ſoon as there is a proſpect of its adoption, they will arrange their affairs, and embark for this country, in order to eſtabliſh a claim of citizenſhip cœval with the new government.

An ACT, concerning the CONVENTION to be held in June next.

WHEREAS it is provided by a reſolution of the twenty-fifth day of October laſt, that the proceedings of the Fœderal Convention be ſubmitted to a Convention of the people for their full and free inveſtigation, diſcuſſion and deciſion; but no proviſion hath been made for aſcertaining the privileges, or defraying the expence of the members of the ſaid Convention, during their ſeſſion, and travelling to and from the ſame,

Be it therefore enacted by the General Aſſembly. That the members of the ſaid ſtate Convention, choſen in conformity to the ſaid reſolution the twenty-fifth day of October laſt, ſhall have, poſſeſs, and enjoy, in the moſt full and ample manners, all and every the privilege and privileges which members elected to, and attending on, the General Aſſembly, are entitled to. And moreover ſhall be allowed the ſame pay for travelling to, attending on, and returning from, the ſaid Convention, as is allowed to members of the General Aſſembly for travelling to, attending on, and returning from, the ſame.

Be it further enacted, That the ſaid Convention ſhall be, and they are hereby empowered to make ſuch reaſonable allowances to the officers of the ſaid Covention for their ſervices as ſhall be by the ſaid Convention deemed neceſſary.

And whereas it is eſſential to the ſafety and happineſs of the people of this and other ſtates in the union, that the moſt friendly ſentiments towards each other ſhould be cheriſhed, and the greateſt unanimity ſhould prevail at all times, but more particularly during the deliberations concerning the great and important change of government which hath been propoſed by the Fœderal Convention, and it is neceſſary to make proviſion for the payment of ſuch reaſonable expences as may be incurred, in caſe the Convention to meet in this ſtate on the firſt Monday in June next, ſhould deem it neceſſary to hold any communications with any of the ſiſter ſtates or the Conventions thereof which may be then met, or ſhould in any other manner incur any expence in collecting the ſentiments of the union reſpecting the propoſed Fœderal Conſtitution, in ſuch manner as to keep up that friendly intercourſe and preſerve that unanimity reſpecting any great change of government, which it is the duty and wiſh of this Legiſlature to promote and cheriſh, Be it therefore enacted, That a ſum of money not exceeding eight thouſand pounds ſhall be reſerved in the treaſury ſubject to the order and diſpoſal of the Covention appointed to meet in the city of Richmond on the firſt Monday in June next, for defraying the expences of the members thereof, or any other expences as before mentioned, and that ſuch money ſhall be made good from the funds now appropriated or which may hereafter be appropriated, to the ſupport of civil government, and provided the ſaid fund ſhould by any means prove deficient, then ſuch diſficiency ſhall be made good from any unappropriated money in the treaſury.

LOST,

In or near RICHMOND,

About 600 Dollars (INDENTS)

Incloſed in a News-paper. Whoever will bring them to the printer hereof ſhall be handſomely rewarded.

213

Warrington & Keene,

Reſpectfully inform the Public,

That they are removed from the Store of

Iſaac Younghuſband, Eſquire,

Oppoſite to Galt's Tavern,

And have opened FOR SALE,

An extenſive and general ASSORTMENT of

PRIME SEASONABLE

GOODS,

At their new ſtore near the old Capitol, built upon the ſame ſpot where JAMES WARRINGTON was burnt out in the fire of January 1787, which they are determined to diſpoſe of by the package, piece, or otherwiſe, on the moſt moderate terms.

*** Military certificates, intereſt warrants, &c. as alſo tobacco, and ginſang, will be received in payment at their higheſt value.

RICHMOND, Jan. 3. 1788.

For Sale,

THE Tavern at preſent occupied by the ſubſcriber, and two lots where on it ſtands, with all the improvements; alſo two lots on the back ſtreet, on which are good ſtables with 28 double ſtalls. Adjoining the ſaid lot is a genteel dwelling houſe 44 by 24, with two rooms, and a 12 foot paſſage below, and 4 rooms above, at preſent occupied by Col. JAMES INNES, likewiſe a ſmall lot with a dwelling houſe on it, adjoining the Maſon's Hall

A part of the above property will be ſold for caſh, the remainder for long credit, with bond and approved ſecurity.

GABRIEL GALT.

¶¶ It is requeſted by the ſubſcriber that thoſe who are indebted to him either on bond or open account to make ſpeedy payments, as he is determined to put them into the hands of an Attorney to bring ſuit without deſcrimination. Thoſe that he is indebted to will pleaſe to bring in their accounts, that he may make proviſion for the payment of them.

G. GALT.

Richmond, Jan. 9, 1788.

Will be Sold,

On the premiſes, on Monday the 25th of February, if fair, otherwiſe the next fair day,

THE LAND,

In LUNENBURG county, lately advertiſed, belonging to the eſtate of Mr. William Barrett, deceaſed. It is divided into four tracts of about 200 acres each, payments will be required at different periods, which may make it eaſy to the purchaſers after paying one eighth part on the day of ſale. A quantity of CORN and FODDER will be ſold at the ſame time for cash or tobacco, by

THE EXECUTORS.

MOULD CANDLES, at 1s. per pound,

By MYER DERKHEIM, at the ſtore lately occupied by Meſſ. Moſes and Joſeph A. Myers, oppoſite Meſſ. Montgomery, Henry, & co. The beſt turpentine ſoap, at 9d. the ſingle pound, and 8d. by taking 8 pounds. Sixpence per pound will be allowed for kitchen ſtuff in exchange for ſoap.

Any perſon finding tallow, may have candles made for 4d. per pound.

Richmond, Jan. 2, 1788.

At a Court of ADMIRALTY,

held at the CAPIOTL, in the city of Williamſburg, the 8th day of December 1787.

RETURN being made on the citation iſſued in the ſuit commenced in this Court by Chriſtopher Roan, againſt the brigantine Hope, that the maſter or owner of the ſaid veſſel was not found and no perſon appearing to claim 32 kegs of paint part of the ſaid brigantines cargo. It is ordered that publication be made three times in the Virginia Gazette that the libel be taken for confeſſed unleſs the party intereſted ſhall appear and ſhew cauſe to the contrary on the 10th day of January next.

(A copy)

WILL. RUSSELL. Regiſter.

JANUARY 1, 1788.

I AM directed to forewarn all perſons from the preſent date, from hunting, ſhooting, or otherwiſe treſpaſſing on the FALLS PLANTATION.—Any one offending herein after this caution, may depend upon being taken notice of.

THOMAS CARTER, Overſeer.

For Sale,

A likely NEGRO BOY,

About 16 YEARS OLD,

Who can Shave & Dreſs,

Equal to any Barber in this city.

For terms apply to the Printer.

To be Sold,

Or RENTED,

On reaſonable TERMS, for a TERM of YEARS,

A good Dwelling Houſe,

With every neceſſary OUT HOUSE for a family.

Alſo a convenient Store Houſe,

With two rooms below, and three above,

With a LUMBER HOUSE and STABLE,

Lying in HANOVER TOWN.

There is adjoining the above HOUSES,

A few acres of very rich LAND,

Which may be had with them.

☞ If I do not diſpoſe of, or rent the above houſes, before the 1ſt of April next, I will then leaſe a plantation in Albemarle county, well adapted to the culture of tobacco and wheat, with a good Dwelling Houſe thereon.

JOSEPH BRAND.

HANOVER-TOWN, Jan. 1, 1788.

Four Dollars Reward.

LOST

ON Monday evening laſt the 24th inſtant, between the Bridge and Rocketts, a large metal Stop Watch, makers name, Turner, London, No. 1071, with a ſteel chain, one large gold ſeal, cypher W H. one braſs watch key, and one gold ditto. Whoever has found the ſame, and will deliver her to the Printer hereof, ſhall receive the above reward.

RICHMOND, December 29, 1787.

To be SOLD,

Or exchanged for property in ENGLAND.

A TRACT of LAND in Prince George county, lying upon James river, oppoſite to Weſtover; about 12 miles from Peterſburg, and known by the name of Derby Hill. There is no houſes upon it, but a moſt deſirable ſituation for one; about twenty five acres of meadow ground, an excellent apple orchard and as good a fiſhery as any upon the river.

Any perſon wiſhing to purchaſe or give property in England for the above-mentioned tract of land, will pleaſe to apply to Mr. William Schermer of Richmond, or the ſubſcriber in Hanover-Town.

ROBERT FLEMING.

Hanover-Town, Oct. 25, 1787.

*** The Governours and Viſitors of WILLIAM & MARY college are requeſted to convene in the city of Williamſburg on the 15th of January next, at which time ſome matters of conſequence will be ſubmitted to their conſideration. JAMES INNES, Rector.

May be had at this Office,

PRICE 7½d.

A ſtatement of the Public DEBT,

By Mr. William Ronald, one of the committee appointed for that purpoſe.

York Grammar-School,

December 17, 1787.

MR. EVANS enjoys fincere pleafure in thus paying his grateful acknowledgements to the gentlemen of York and of other parts of the country, for the countenance and encouragement which they have fhewn him as a teacher; and as he flatters himfelf that they have found no caufe to regret the confidence which they have repofed in his attention and abilities, he hopes for the continuance of their patronage.

To the public he thinks it proper to add that, he continues the tuition of youth in the clafficks and the Engliih language; writing and arithmetick; geography and the ufe of the globes;——for the laft of which branches he is provided with a very complete apparatus.

The terms are ten pounds per annum, to be paid half yearly with one dollar upon admiffion towards fire for the feafon.

Mr. Evans's motives for fixing upon one uniform, liberal price are, firft, that by making it worth his while to confine his attention to a fmaller number of boys, he may be able to do them greater juftice; and fecondly, that thus children, if not of loofer principles, at leaft of more vulgar habits, may be prevented from intermixing to corrupt the morals and vitiate the manners of his pupils.

W. SHERMER,

Has received from EUROPE,

A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF

FALL GOODS,

Which he will fell at a very moderate advance,

WHOLESALE,

At his SOTRE near the Capitol,

either for CASH, TOBACCO, or MILITARY CERTIFICATES, at their current value.

They conſiſt of the following and other ARTICLES, viz.

SUPERFINE, fecond, and coarfe cloths, Kendal cottons, corduroys, fuftains, jeans, fattinets, velvets, velveteens, moleskin, Denmark fattin, denims, everlaftings, hair ſhags, and all kinds of MANCHESTER GOODS. Thread, buttons, ſilk, twiſt, &c. Blankets, plains, and flannels. Yarn, and woollen ſtockings, hats, and ſhoes, Iriſh linen from 8d. to 2s. 6d. per yard. Sheeting, both Scotch and Iriſh, and brown Holland. Calicoes, and printed handkerchiefs in variety of patterns, and mode. Mattraſſes, and bed tykes. An aſſortment of the moſt faſhionable pieces for waiſtcoats in figured velvets, Moncrief, ſtriped, and quilted ſilks and fattins, and flannel with ſilk ſtripes. Men's gloves, lined with flannel and lamb ſkin. Leather breeches, and boots, Sadlery, amongſt which are a few ſingle chair harneſs. Pottery in Queen's ware, &c. All kinds of hardware, and ironmongery. Powder and ſhot. A quantity of Scotch and Wilton CARPETS in variety of patterns, &c. &c. &c.

Will be Sold,

Upon the premiſes on the 24th day of January 1787, one tract of LAND lying in Louiſa county, taxed in the name of JOHN MOORE, dec. ſaid to bolong to Col. JOHN HARVIE, containing ſix hundred acres, or ſo much thereof, as will ſatisfy the Revenue and Certificate taxes, due for 1786, and expences attending the ſale.

REVENUE TAX,	£.	7	10 0
CERTIFICATE TAX,		5	0 0

JOHN POINDEXTER, D. S.
for Thomas Johnſon, Sheriff.

LOUISA, Dec. 17, 1787.

Will be Sold,

Agreeable to a clauſe in the Revenue law, on the premiſes, on Monday the 14th day of January 1788, to ſatisfy the Revenue and Certificate taxes for the years 1783, 1784, and 1785, and other neceſſary expences attending the ſale, viz.

ONE thouſand acres of land, (more or leſs) belonging to Joſeph Loyall, lying in Henry county, on the branches of Terry Cock Creek, adjoining the land of Mr. John Booth, in ſaid county.

NATHAN RYAN, D. S.
for ABRAHAM PENN, Sheriff.

SNUFF MILLS, AT WILLIAMSBURG.

THE proprietors of which have for ſale a large quantity of SCOTCH SNUFF, two years old, and by judges of that article, ſaid to be fully equal to any imported from Europe. RAPPEE SNUFF, ſuperior to what can poſſibly croſs the Atlantic. TWIST & SHAGG, for chewing, fine CUT for ſmoaking, to be had at the ſame place. The prices wholeſale are 25 per cent lower then any other ſtate do furniſh thoſe articles. All orders addreſſed as above, due attention will be paid for expedition and care in package.

By the public's devoted ſervants,

HUNT & ADAMS.

Williamſburg, March 9. 1787.

N B. The above articles are to be had at their ſhop in Richmond, and at Mr. Robt. Greenhow's ſtore on Shockoe hill near the Theatre.

JUST PUBLISHED,

And for ſale by THOMAS NICOLSON,

At his Office near the COURT HOUSE,

The Virginia Almanack, For the Year 1788,

Being Beſextile, or Leap Year.

CONTAINING the Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipſes, Weather, Riſing and ſetting of the Sun; change and full of the Moon: County and other Court days; liſt of Public Officers; Roads from Richmond to the Sweet Springs; a variety of Anecdotes and pieces of Wit; Weight of Gold as eſtabliſhed by act of Aſſembly; Scale of Depreciation; a complete table for weighing Gold, from one Grain to ſixty four Ounces; Receipt for a Cancer; an eaſy method of finding Intereſt for any ſum; Days on which the Poſts and Packets ſet out; Receipt for making French Bread; how to keep French Beans and Green Peas till Chriſtmas; to make Mead; to fine Cyder; a ſhort ſketch on Gardening; to take Pimples and Freckles off the Face; to make Liquid Blacken; Receipts for Worms in Children; to take out Greaſe, ſpots of Ink, Tar, Wine, &c. out of Cloth; to kill Chinches, Gargle for the Sear Throat: cure for the Scurvy, Tooth-Ach, and a number of other uſeful Receipts.

For SALE,

On very REASONABLE TERMS,

For caſh, military certificates, or intereſt warrants at their current value,

AN unexpired term of a leaſe of the houſe now occupied by Marcus Elcan, ſituated on the main ſtreet in this city, well ſituated for a ſtore and family, with neceſſary out houſes; alſo a large lumber houſe.—For further particulars, inquire of the printer hereof.

To be Sold,

On the premiſes, in Louiſa county, the following tracts of land, or ſo much thereof, as will ſatisfy the Revenue tax for 1785, and Certificate tax for 1784, and 1785, due January 1785, and 1786, and other expences incurred.

		Acres.
ON Monday 21ſt Jan. 1788,	Tho. Pleaſants,	420.
Diſto.	do.	500.
On Tueſday the 22d,	James Crews,	200.
On Wedneſday the 23d,	Job Harris,	50.
On Thurſday the 24th,	John Overton,	150.

R. YANCY, for
W. Thomſon, late Sheriff.

LOUISA, December 8, 1787.

TAKEN up in Hanover, near the Hon. Peter Lyons's, a ſmall bay MARE, with ſaddle ſpots on her back, about 4 feet 1 inch high, 8 or 9 years old, a long buſhy tail, and thick mane, which hangs on the near ſide, branded on the near ſhoulder and buttock S. near hind foot white above the footlocks, ſhe gallops very well. Appraiſed to ten dollars.

THOMAS BOWLES.

For Sale,

For Caſh or Long Credit.

A VALUABLE Farm, containing three hundred acres, more or leſs (near thirty of which is reclaimed meadow.) It is beautifully ſituated within four miles of the city of Richmond, on the main road to Williamſburg, it was the property of ROBERT GILBERT deceaſed. There is on the ſaid farm, a good dwelling houſe, kitchen, and every other out houſe neceſſary for a genteel family. Poſſeſſion will be given immediately if it is ſold, by

GABRIEL GALT.
JAMES ANDERSON.

TREASURY OFFICE,

DECEMBER 6, 1787.

THE money in the funds appropriated by law to the diſcharge of the intereſt on the army debt, will be apportioned among the holders of the warrants for the fifth years intereſt on Military Certificates, which ſhall be brought into the Treaſury to be regiſtered between the date hereof, and the 22d day of January next.

J. AMBLER, Treaſurer.

IN the month of March next I propoſe to divide ſeveral tracts of land, conſiſting of about 12,000 acres, into lots, to contain from 100 to 150 acres each—The ſaid lots are intended to be leaſed for lives or a term of years. The greateſt part of the ſaid lands lie in the counties of Shanandoah and Frederick, in the vicinity of Marlbrough Iron-Works, and in the neighbourhood of the borough of Wincheſter—Thoſe who wiſh to leaſe any of the ſaid lots may have further information, by applying to me in the city of Richmond, during the preſent ſeſſion of General Aſſembly, or after that time, to me or my Agent at the works aforeſaid.

ISAAC ZANE.

County Court Clerks, merchants, ſheriffs, naval-officers, and others may be furniſhed with any of the undermentioned BLANKS, at the ſhorteſt notice, by the Printer hereof, viz

COUNTY COURT.

PETITION & SUMMONS.
SUBPOENAS.
WRITS.
ATTACHMENTS.
EXECUTIONS.
EXECUTORS BONDS.
ADMINISTRATORS ditto.
ORPHANS ditto.

SHERIFFS.

REPLEVY BONDS.
APPEARANCE ditto.
PRISON BOUND ditto.

MERCHANTS.

COMMON BONDS.
NOTES OF HAND.
BILLS OF EXCHANGE.
BILLS OF LADING.
BILLS OF SALE.
DEEDS OF TRUST.
DEEDS FOR LAND.
SEAMEN'S ARTICLES.
INDENTURES &c.

NAVAL OFFICERS.

DUTY BONDS.
CLEARANCES.
PERMITS, &c.

Delarations for Lawyers,

OF VARIOUS FORMS.

M'MURRAY'S MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.

May be had at this Office.

ACTS OF ASSEMBLY,

Printed ſince the reviſed code, viz. For the years 1783, 84, 85, and 86.

214